4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

I found them friendly and hospitable, but without a sense of relative values. The family with whom I lived would accept no money for the rooms, all the rice I could eat, and all the firewood I needed for heating and cooking. In addition, now and then they brought me vegetables from their own gardens, included me in their feasts, and gave me a bit of something special at other times. But, once I began to knit caps for them and give them medicines, prints of individual snapshots, and a treat for the children upon my return from market, they expected me to continue all those things for themselves and all their relatives, even when the war made communications difficult and prices, accordingly, increasingly high.

They were less conventional than the Chinese, though that does not mean that they lacked social standards. For instance, children were repeatedly rebuked when they went between the fire and those who were sitting around it. At feasts it was considered inhospitable should the host or hostess allow a guest's wine bowl to become empty. No guest ever left the village emptyhanded. Men and women, girls and boys mingled freely, for they considered themselves one large family. There was much goodnatured teasing and repartee. Children, however, often gave way to tantrums and some rather heated arguments took place among adults on occasion. One morning some of the older men of the village were discussing something with the old man of our family. Not only did the talking get loud and sarcastic in tone, but some one of them broke a bowl by throwing it onto the stones of the court outside his room. But on the whole the Miao village was a very pleasant place in which to live.

Language. Dr. Li Fang-kuei [14] told me that he considers the Miao dialects a distinct language group, belonging to the Sinitic family of languages. They have no written language. My informant, however, declared that the Cowrie Shell Miao speak the ancient Chinse dialect spoken in Kiangsi at the time their ancestor migrated. There are either seven or nine tones — authorities differ as to

[14] At that time acting director of the Section on Philology of the Institute of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica.

194 this point — including "singing tones" simi-
193 lar to those in the Foochow dialect. The sentence structure differs from modern Chinese. For instance, the adjective always follows the noun. The words are monosyllabic, as in Chinese, but contain sounds not found in modern Chinese, such as one quite similar to the Welsh *ll*. There are, of course, Chinese words for things and ideas brought in through more recent contact with local Chinese.

871 When a family can afford it one or more
177 boys — rarely a girl — receive some education. This must be obtained in a Chinese school whose curriculum offers little of value to the average Miao farmer. Therefore, few

[10a]

from four to six being let into a piece of hollowed wood, the handle of this forming the mouthpiece. The sound, which is something like that of bagpipes, is produced by brass reeds fixed into the tubes which are of different lengths. Tunes played on these instruments seem weird and monotonous to the Westerner but they play a dangerous part in the life of the young people. When, on moonlight nights, pipers come to the outskirts of a village the music is irresistible to the girls, who go out to the players, and after posture-like dancing and antiphonal singing spend the night in their company. It is not unheard of for a mother to encourage her own fourteen-year-old daughter to go out to these youths. Human nature can sink very low. 534

The Miao are yellow-skinned and broad-nosed; they are of short stature and have straight black hair. Occasionally one meets with a boy or girl whose hair is reddish and such children are unpopular. Like the Chinese the Miao language is tonal and mono-syllabic; in every other respect it is entirely different. Happily their language is more easily learnt than Chinese, though the tones are quite as confusing. As an illustration, take a word which we would spell with the letters D and A. Pronounced with what scholars would term an upper even tone "*da*" means "to drag", "to seize"; pronounced with an ascending tone "*da*" means "to kill", with a departing tone "to come", with a lower even tone "to die" or "to kick". It will be readily understood how bewildering such a language can be. 141 [193] 194

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

the Black or Dark men, the aborigines of Hainan, is a problem which must be left for some missionary or traveller to solve.

As mentioned above, all the languages spoken in Kweichow are syllabic and tonic, but the Miao language appears to be more like the Chinese or, at all events, more like Mandarin Chinese than those spoken by the Keh-lao, Chung-chia, or I-chia. Naturally in all these languages there are words manifestly borrowed from the Chinese; but leaving out such words, there seem more resemblances between the Chinese and Miao words than between the Chinese and any of the others, or between Miao and any of the others.

Of the non-Chinese languages spoken in Kweichow we know Heh Miao and Chung-chia best, and it is worthy of note that in both of these, as a rule, the adjective comes after the noun, whereas in Chinese the adjective comes before the noun. There are also other marked peculiarities which differentiate these languages from the Chinese and from one another, but for the most part the syntax of all these languages is very much the same, that is to say, there are no conjugations, no declensions, and no inflexion of words. Like Mandarin Chinese, none of the Miao dialects we know have any

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

194 final consonants other than "*n*" and "*ng*." They have, however, some initial sounds which are not found in Chinese, among which may be noted the "*Ll*" of the Welsh among the Heh Miao and also among the I-chia. This initial sound in some of the Miao dialects changes to "*Kl*" and "*Bl*."

The Chung-chia, besides the final "*n*" and "*ng*," have also as finals *k*, *m*, *p*, and *t*. The Heh Miao have eight tones, and some of the other dialects probably as many, though we have heard of some which have only four. The Chung-chia have six tones. How many the I-chia and Keh-lao have we are not able to say. The student has to study these languages some time before he can decide how many tones they use. Of course, all these people utter all the various tones correctly for their own dialects, but are quite unable to say how many tones there are. There are, moreover, in some of these tones such fine gradations of pitch and inflexion that only the practised ear can distinguish between them.

197 192 The various dialects spoken by the Miao tribes differ considerably, so much so that a Heh Miao from the south-east cannot understand anything of the dialect spoken by a Heh Miao of the west. If, however, the vocabularies

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO 川苗

DAVID CROCKETT GRAHAM

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In the following article, THE CUSTOMS OF THE CH'UAN MIAO, and in the translations of Ch'uan Miao memorial ceremonies and the ceremonies of the exorcist, I have used the International Phonetic Script for Ch'uan Miao terms and the Wade system of romanization for the Chinese. For the convenience of the reader, a phonetic table is here given.*

CONSONANTS

b	as in bit.
d	as in dig.
d_3	as in judge but without aspiration.
d^z	is d plus a slight z sound
f	as in fat.
g	as in go.
G	an uvular g.
ŋ	ng as in king.
h	as in hat.
X	rough h as in the Scotch word *loch* and the German word *nach*.
j	as y in young.
ʒ	is the French j, bordering toward the English fricative (for which r is used in this table of sounds.)
ʒ̇	is a strong palatalized French j.
k	as in kind.
l	as in law.
l̥	Welsh unvoiced ll plus voice l.
m	as in man.
n	as in new.

*NOTE—I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor J. E. Moncrieff of West China Union University and to Dr. Serge Elisseeff, Director of the Harvard-Yenching Institute for assistance in distinguishing the Ch'uan Miao sounds and in making out these tables.

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

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p as in pin.

r which in strict phonetic script is J, the ordinary fricative. (untrilled) initial r of southern English and American speech.

s as in sit.

ʂ as in shut.

t as in tin.

T a dental t sometimes written $\underline{t}$.

tʂ as ch in child, weakly aspirated.

v as in vow.

z as in zone.

w as in wit, well.

' is used to indicate an especially strong aspirate.

- underscording is used to indicate a weaker aspirate.

VOWELS

i as in pique.

i· as in imp.

as in end.

a as a in hat.

a: as a in shah.

ɔ as o in hot.

ɔ· as au in haul.

u as in put.

u· as oo in pool.

o· a pure close long o.

ʌ as u in nut.

y is umlaut u (ü) of the German language.

ə very slightly resembles the French mute e. It is pronounced with the teeth of the two jaws very close together to produce a feeble sibilation. The lips are not rounded but remain neutral. The tongue is more advanced than in French. It is sometimes written ɪ in the romanization of Chinese sounds.

ã is nasal a.

õ is nasal o.

ai as i in bite.

ao as o in how with a pure o ending.

au as o in how with an open u ending.

ei as in eight.

ou as o in go (with a u ending).

ʌn as the Chinese ou (Wade) or eo (China Inland Mission).

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

796 tirteenth day of the seventh moon and there is a similar family meal. The ancestors must be invited to come.

The first day of the tenth moon. The ancestors must be invited to come. Biscuits, called *pa pa* in Chinese, are made of rice or some other grain. They are first offered to the ancestors and then they are eaten by the family. No other food or drink is offered or eaten.

The thirtieth day of the twelfth moon. At this time the ancestors are welcomed back home. A stone is sometimes heated red hot, then placed outside the front door and water poured on it. Biscuits and tea are offered to the ancestors then wine and later rice and meat, but no vegetables. Beef, pork, and chicken can be used. After these have been offered to the ancestors, there is the usual family meal in which the same things are eaten.

It should be noted that these calendar festivals correspond very closely to those of the Chinese in West China and that the commemorating of and making of offerings to the deceased ancestors is the primary concern in all of them.

VII. THE LANGUAGE

[193] 194 The language of the Ch'uan Miao is monosyllabic and tonal. The verb follows the subject and the object the verb, but the adjective follows the noun. Instead of saying the black dog it is customary to say the dog black.

Among the sounds to be distinguished are the aspirate and the nonaspirate, the French *j*, the dental *t*, the nasal *n*, the Welsh *l* and an uvular *g*. An initial *n* or *m* before other consonants is more common than in most other languages. For instance, the word nta'ao means grass and mba means pig. One distinction of sound is nothing else than a stronger emphasis in pronouncing the word or sound. For instance, the word ma meaning have is pronounced with the ordinary stress but the words ma for buy and ma for sell must be pronounced with a greater stress of voice.

It is commonly believed that the language has five tones. The fact is that it has nine tones. The first tone is high, and the voice is kept level. The second tone is the lowest, and is also level. Their difference in tone is about one octave. The third tone begins at one and descends almost to two. The fourth begins at the second and ascends almost to one. The fifth is half-way between one and two and corresponds to the Chinese fifth tone. The sixth begins at five and descends to two. The seventh is about half-way between five and one and is pronounced with a slightly greater stress of voice than the others. The eighth begins at five and ascends to one. The ninth is about half-way between five and two, is level,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

and is the most common and difficult to distinguish.[16]

The Chinese language in West China has four tones with five in some localities but in some parts of Fukien, Kwangtung and Kwangsi the language spoken has eight or nine tones. There are Ch'uan Miao legends which indicate that they came to Szechwan from Kwangtung or Kwangsi.

During recent centuries, the Ch'uan Miao language, like their customs, has been greatly influenced by the Chinese. Take, for instance, the comparative and the superlative of adjectives and adverbs. To make the comparative the word xau is spoken before the positive. To make the superlative the word xʌn is spoken after the comparative.

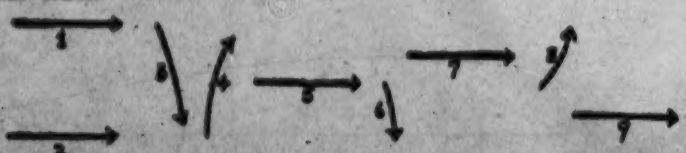
Thus:

positive		*comparative*		*superlative.*	
ʒɔƆ	good	xao ʒɔƆ	better	ʒɔƆ xʌn	best
ʂʌu	poor	xao ʂʌu	poorer	ʂʌu xʌn	poorest
ju·	small	xao ju·	smaller	ju· xʌn	smallest
lo·	large	xao lo·	larger	lo· xʌn	largest

The word xao is evidently the Chinese word xao 好, *hao* for food which may be used in Chinese in the sense of very and the word xʌn is the Chinese word xʌn 很, *hén* for both the pronunciation and the tones are exactly the same in the Ch'uan Miao and in the Chinese languages. It is significant that the Ch'uan Miao cannot express the comparative and the superlative without the use of Chinese words.

There is a goodly nucleus of Ch'uan Miao words that are non-Chinese and which are to be found in various Miao dialects in Kweichow, Yunnan and even in Tongkin. There are also many words that are evidently of Chinese origin. The Chinese word for chair is i[2] *tzu*[3] 椅子. The Ch'uan Miao word is i[2] tzŭ[3] ʒi tsə or i· tsə. The Chinese word for man in Szechwan is zʌn 人 and the Ch'uan Miao word is nʌn. A very common Ch'uan Miao word for love is nia and the Chinese is *ngai* 愛 (*ai*). Occasionally a Chinese word that has been adopted is given a slightly different pronunciation and a different tone.

16. The following diagram may help to distinguish Ch'uan Miao tones.



10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

As we have seen, the deceased ancestors are commemorated by numerous ceremonies in which offerings are made, but the Ch'uan Miao assert that they do not regard ancestors as deities. 769

Among more primitive peoples is found the mana concept, that of a superhuman, supernatural, strange power that is present in unusual persons, deities, and things. Among the Ch'uan Miao this power is assumed but not named or theorized about. It is possessed by gods, godlike creatures, devils, the *do nun* or exorcist, the *mo* or priest, the *bo ntzong* who transforms people into tigers, the ceremonial drum, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial crossbow, the ceremonial *lin p'ai*, the sword, the seal, etc. There are magic fans by the waving of which battles can be won and other wonders performed, and there are magical charms and incantations possessing this strange power. 789

Tigers, foxes, snakes, banana trees, vines, rats, frogs, cattle, and eels are believed to change into human form and vice versa. Sometimes they change into human form to help people, but often it is to do them harm, and people injured by them must be saved from death by the magician, the *do nun*. 82

The Ch'uan Miao regard all things as alive and sentient. The sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, thunder, the echo, the rainbow, houses, fields, plains, recompense or karma, beds, marriage, swords, the harvest, the year, the *liu sheng*, the ceremonial drum, and even the sound of the ceremonial drum are considered to be living things. Ample evidence of this is found in the stories, and it has often been confirmed to the writer by the Ch'uan Miao themselves.

A year is a living creature with a head like that of a human being. The *liu sheng* is alive, and when played it is regarded as speaking. Ceremonial drums speak when being beaten in the ceremonies. Mountains have heads, feet, hands, eyes, ears, hearts, breasts, veins, and arteries. A plain may be male or female and has a mouth, a heart, arteries, veins, and sinews. The sun and the moon have parents. Rocks and stones are male and female, grow, have offspring, and can speak. Some stones may become immortals. The echo has a deceptive character and can act and speak. Thunder is a living creature, in size and shape like a rooster. It is small but powerful, and its call is the noise of thunder. It has a knife of fire, and when it throws this there is lightning. It is this knife that causes damage when lightning strikes.

The Ch'uan Miao find it natural to say that all things, even those that are inanimate, are alive and have lives, but they find it difficult and less natural to say that inanimate things have souls, although lives are intelligent, active, and have eyes. In some old stories it is stated that people have lives and that the lives are located in the armpits. Are we right or wrong if we call this animatism?

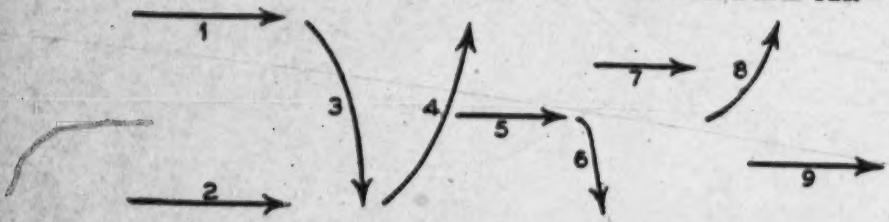
GRAMMAR AND PRONUNCIATION

The grammar of the Ch'uan Miao in some respects resembles that of the Chinese. It is monosyllabic and tonal. The order of the sentence is subject, predicate, and object, but the object follows the noun and the adverb follows the verb. In the Chinese language there is the aspirate and the nonaspirate, but the Ch'uan Miao have the nonaspirate, the "little aspirate," and the "big aspirate." The big aspirate 194● [193]

10: Graham E-5 (1921-?) 1954 AE5 Miao AE5

194 corresponds to the Chinese aspirate and is indicated by the mark '. In the little aspirate the entire word is pronounced with a strong emphasis as with italicized words in English and is indicated here by underscoring and in Pollard's Miao script by the sign '.

The tones are very important, for the same sound in a different tone is an entirely different word with a different meaning. While the Chinese in I-Pin have five tones, the Ch'uan Miao have nine tones. The range of the tones is about an octave, and the first five tones correspond to those found in I-Pin. The sixth tone begins at five and goes downward. The seventh tone is halfway between one and five and, like one, five, and two, is "level." The eighth begins at five and goes upward, and the ninth tone is halfway between five and two and is level. Thus—



PHONETIC TABLE

Consonants

b as in bite.
d as in dig.
dʒ as in judge, but without aspiration.
dʒ' is d plus a slight z sound.
f as in fat.
g as in go.
G is an uvular g.
Ŋ is ng as in king.
h as in hat.
X is rough h as in the Scotch word *loch* and the German word nach.
j is y as in young.
k as in kind.
l as in law.
ll is Welch voiced ll plus voiced l.
m as in man.
n as in new.
ŋ as ni in onion, uttered as one word.
p as in pin.
r which in strict phonetic script is ɹ, the ordinary fricative (untrilled), the initial r of southern English and American speech.
s as in sit.
ʃ as in shut, but nearer the ordinary s except before i and j.
t as in tin.
T is a dental t sometimes written t̪.
tʃ as in hunt.
tʃ as ch in child, weakly aspirated.
tʃ' as ch in child, strong aspirated.
v as in vow.
ʒ is the French j bordering on the English fricative r (for which r is used in this table of sounds). Sometimes there is a slight uvular r sound following this ʒ.
ʃ is a strong palatalized French j.
w as in wit.
' is used to indicate a strong aspirate.
—— indicates the weak aspirate, which in the Pollard script is indicated by '.

Vowels

i as in pique.
i· as in imp.
e as in end.
ae as in hat.
a· as in shab
ɔ as in hot.
ɔ· as in haul.
u as in put.
u· as in pool.
o· as pure close long o.
ʌ as in nut.
y is umlaut u (u) as in the German language.
ə inverted e, very slightly resembles the French mute e. It is pronounced with the teeth of the two jaws very close together to produce a feeble sibilation. The lips are not rounded but remain neutral. The tongue is more advanced than in the French. It is sometimes written I in the romanization of Chinese sounds.
ã is nasal a.
õ is nasal o.
ai as i in bite.
ao as ow in how with a pure o ending.
au as ow in how with an open u ending.
ei as in eight.
ou as o in go with a u ending.
Au as the Chinese ou (Wade) or eo (China Inland Mission).